8: Bernal Villa E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

Bases for the Study of the Social Organization of the Paez
[Bases para el Estudio de la Organización Social de los Páez]

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[Title page]

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600 # Bases for the Study of the Social Organization of the Páez

By
Segundo Bernal Villa.

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124 /167/ The material for the study of the kinship system of
128 the Páez was collected in the month of May, 1953, thanks to the
[114] enthusiastic collaboration of Victoriano Piñakué, 18 years of age,
[115] bilingual, and a native of the parcialidad /a village and the lands belonging to it/ of Calderas. With this material we made an analysis of the kinship system, which we present below without any major modifications. It was later discussed with several native men of the parcialidad of San Andrés, who found it to be correct. At the end of May, 1954, we had the opportunity to discuss it again in Mosoco with two male informants of the lo-
[197] cality. They found practically no phonological differences, in spite of the fact that the Páez spoken in that parcialidad showed some different nuances in relation to that spoken in the other
124 parcialidades. They made only one fundamental observation,
128 which we accepted, since we consider it to be convincing. It
601 refers to the terms used to designate the sons and daughters of the brothers and sisters of EGO. According to Piñakué, they are designated with the Spanish terms: sobrino and sobrina /nephew and niece/. Jorge Mulcué (Mosqueño /a person from Mosoco/ 58 years old) affirmed that they are designated with the words kué or wásak (son and daughter) preceded by the possessive my (anji).

601 Men and women use the same terms for both the paternal and the maternal line, with certain exceptions, subordinating the real degree of kinship to the generation. The Páez system of kinship terminology is, therefore, classificatory and bilateral.

/167 cont./

601 Seemingly there is no terminology for designating the older and younger brothers of the generation of EGO, although in practice this distinction stands out. EGO is obliged to greet older brothers and the older members of the community in general, and there also exists the obligation of being greeted by the younger brothers and, in general, by all the younger members of the community.

Among the adults of both sexes, married and with children, the use of teknonymous forms is general.

114 /168/ The only two studies of kinship systems made in Colombia are from the pen of Professor Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff working among the Iroka and the Kogi. That of the Iroka was [104] done with the collaboration of Alexander L. Clark. With the intention of facilitating subsequent comparative studies on the subject, we have adopted his system for presenting the materials, especially the abbreviations of the kinship terms in the Spanish language /the English equivalents for the abbreviations of the Spanish terms are given on p. 10 /.

127 Before finishing with this brief introduction, we wish to
128 place on record our sincere thanks to Señor Víctor Bedoya for his voluntary transcription of unpublished documents from the Archivo Nacional relating to the Páez, and to Professor Marcos Fulop for his valuable observations and opportune suggestions which brought much light to obscure sections of our work.

601

Analysis of Kinship Terms

Consanguineous Relatives

A--EGO's Generation:

a) Masculine EGO: Brothers and sons of uncles and aunts, paternal and maternal, are grouped in a single category and classified as brothers (iaktê).

b) Sisters and daughters of uncles and aunts, paternal and maternal, are grouped in a single category and classified as sisters (Pesh).

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/168 cont./

Sh = the French ch (chaise); ch = the Spanish ch (chicha); j = the French j (jardín); h = the Spanish j (rojo).

c) Feminine EGO: sisters and daughters of uncles and aunts, paternal and maternal, are grouped in a single category and classified as sisters (iaktẽ).

d) Brothers and sons of uncles and aunts, paternal and maternal, are grouped in a single category and classified as brothers (jish).

B--First Ascendant Generation:

a) For father and mother, separate words are used (tấta and mấma). /Figs. 1 and 2 appear here./

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b) The brothers and sisters of the father and the sons and daughters of the brothers and sisters of the father of the father (grandfather) are grouped in a single category and classified as uncles and aunts (ñuk and pẽsuts, respectively).

c) The brothers and sisters of the mother and the sons and daughters of the brothers and sisters of the mother of the mother (grandmother) are grouped in a single category and classified as uncles and aunts (kấhka and pẽñuk, respectively).

C--Second Ascendant Generation:

a) One term is used for both grandfathers (ishí) and one term for both grandmothers (penshí).

b) The brothers and sisters of the grandparents, for both the paternal and maternal lines, are grouped in a single category and classified as grandfathers and grandmothers (ishí, penshí).

D--Third Ascendant Generation:

a) The great-grandfathers are designated with one term (ishí wấla) and the great-grandmothers with another one (penshí wấla).

E--First Descendent Generation:

a) The sons, the daughters, and the sons and daughters of brothers and sisters, real or classificatory, for both the paternal and maternal lines, are grouped into a single category and designated as sons and daughters (kuẽ or jik and wấsak or nis, respectively).

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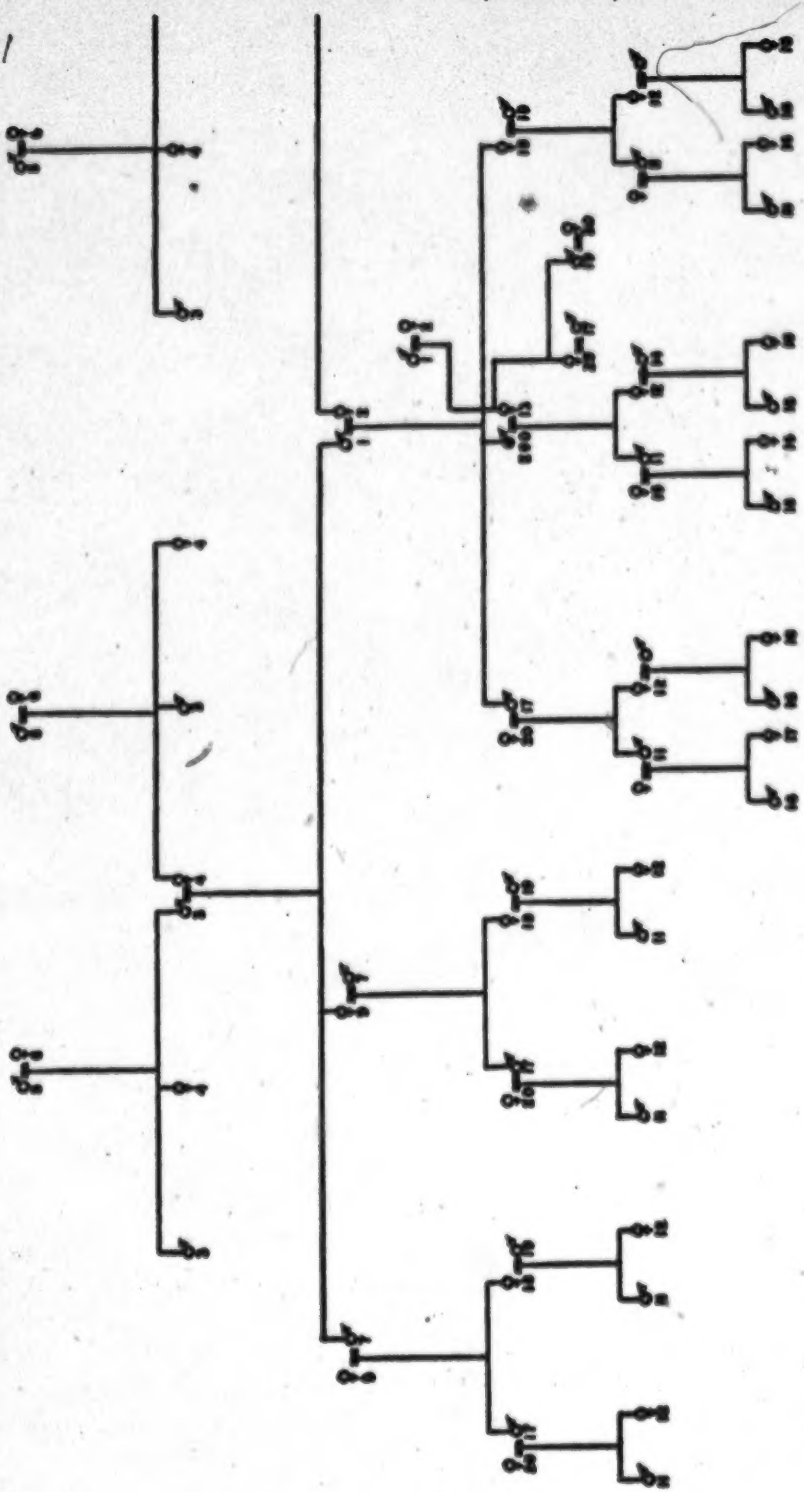

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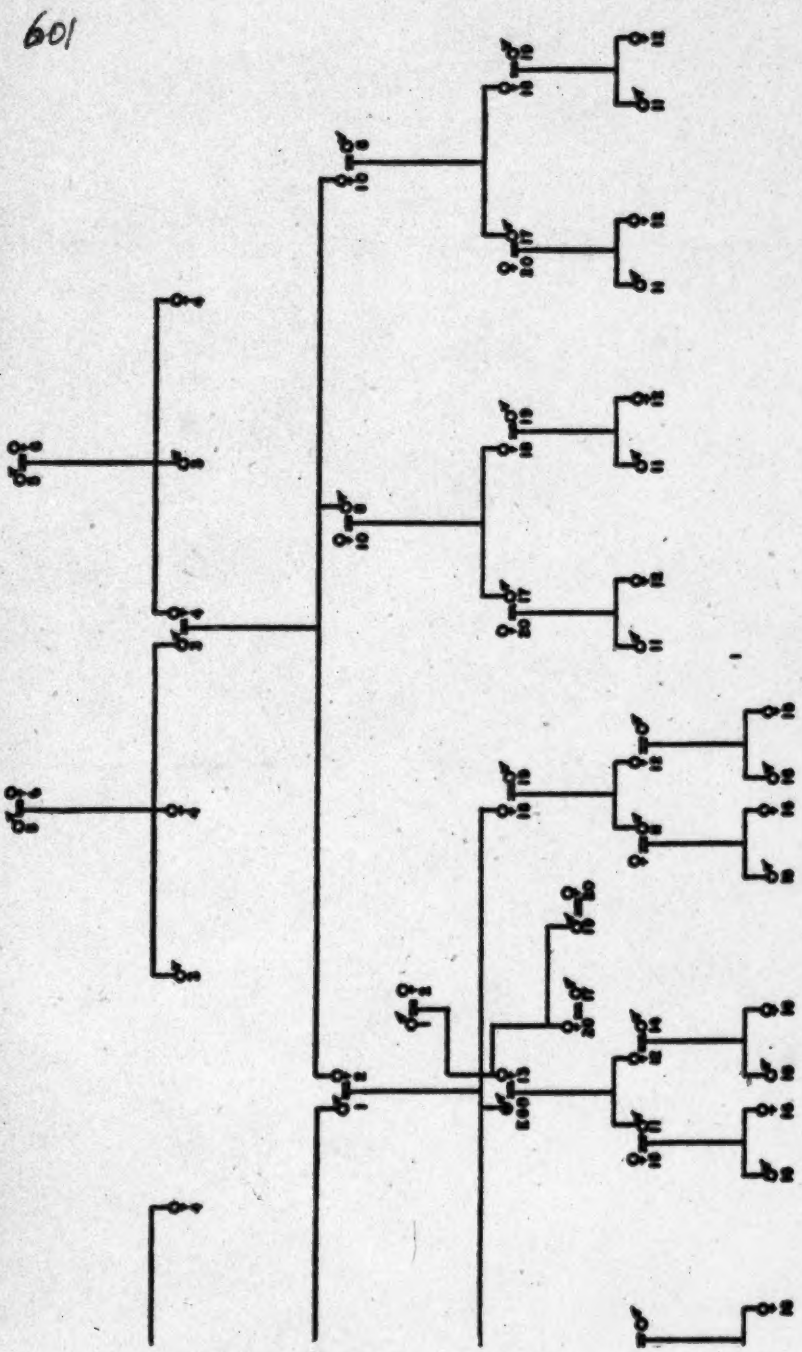

Fig. 1. Kinship, Masculine Ego.

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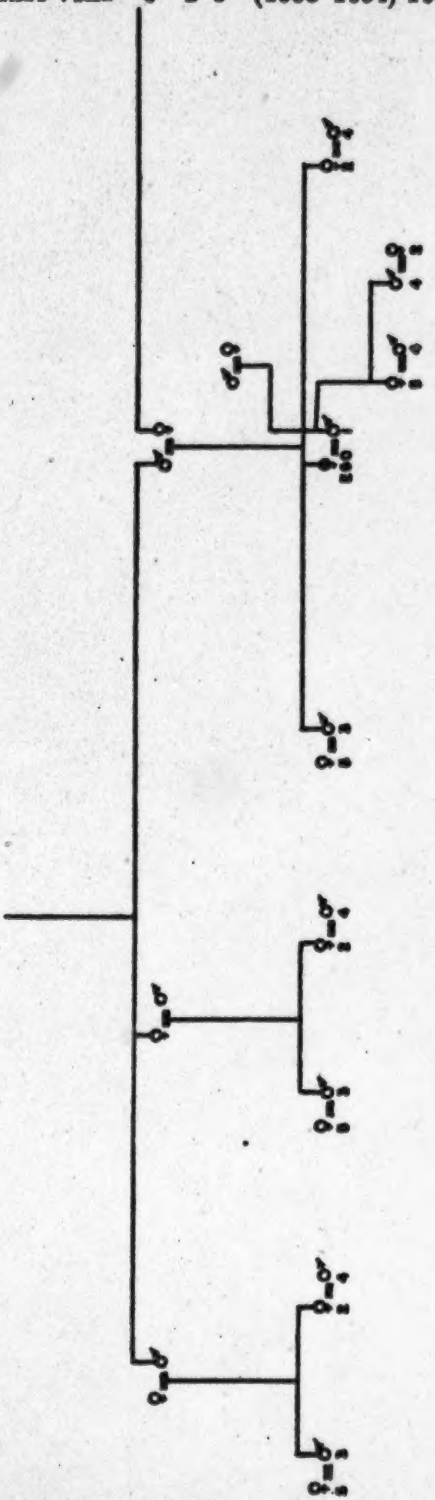

Fig. 2. Kinship, Feminine Ego.

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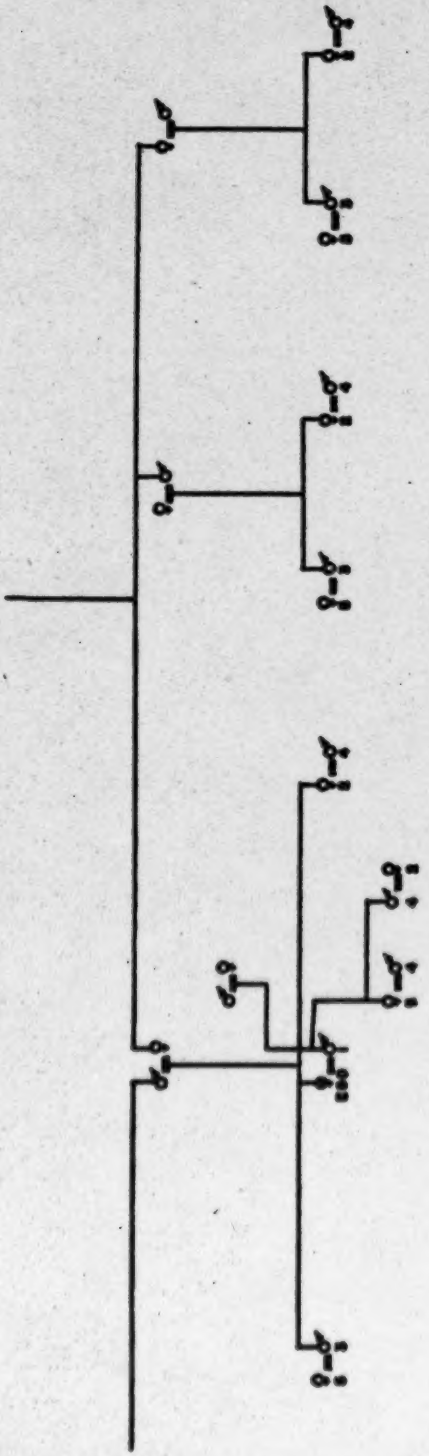

Fig. 2. Kinship, Feminine Ego.

/169 cont./

60/ F--Second Descendent Generation:

a) Sons and daughters of sons and daughters (grandchildren), the same as sons and daughters of brothers and sisters, are grouped into a single category without distinction as to sex and are designated as grandchildren (nson).

G--Third Descendent Generation:

a) The children of sons and daughters of sons and daughters (great-grandchildren) are grouped without distinction as to sex into a single category and designated with the same term used for grandchildren (nson).

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Additional Differences

1--Sex: Sex is distinguished terminologically in all generations except in the second and third descendent generation.

2--Age: For brothers and sisters, real and classificatory with respect to the relative age of EGO, it is not differentiated terminologically, although there is discrimination with regard to it in the patterns of conduct, since EGO greets those older than himself, but is himself greeted by those who are younger.

3--Kinship:

a) Masculine EGO: Brothers are not distinguished terminologically from the sons of uncles and aunts, paternal and maternal, and the term with which they are designated does not indicate to which line they belong.

Sisters are not distinguished from the daughters of uncles and aunts, paternal and maternal, and the term with which they are designated does not specify to which line they belong.

Feminine EGO: Brothers are not distinguished terminologically from the sons of uncles and aunts, paternal and maternal, and the term with which they are designated does not specify to which line they belong.

Sisters are not distinguished terminologically from the daughters of uncles and aunts, paternal and maternal, and the term with which they are designated does not specify the line to which they belong.

/170 cont./

60/ b) First ascendant generation:

The father and his brothers are distinguished terminologically from the brothers of the mother; the latter and her sisters are distinguished terminologically from the sisters of the former.

c) Second ascendant generation: there are no kinship distinctions.

d) First descendent generation: no kinship distinctions are made between real or classificatory sons.

In-law Relatives

1--a) Masculine EGO: The brothers of the wife, the husbands of the sisters and the husbands of the daughters of the brothers and sisters of the parents are designated with one term (sum).

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b) The sisters of the wife, the wives of the brothers, the wives of the brothers of the wife, and the wives of the sons of the brothers and sisters of the parents are designated with one term (sub).

c) One term is used to designate the husband of the sister of the wife. In general, the husbands of the sisters of the wife are designated among themselves with the same term that is used to designate among themselves the wives of the brothers of EGO (iakté).

d) Feminine EGO: The brothers of the husband, the husbands of the sisters, the husbands of the sisters of the husband, and the husbands of the daughters of the brothers and sisters of the parents are designated with one term (sub).

e) The sisters of the husband, the wives of the brothers, and the wives of the sons of the brothers and sisters of the parents are designated with one term (chinás).

/171 cont./

601 2--a) Father-in-law and mother-in-law are designated with separate terms (táta, máma).

b) The husbands of the daughters and the wives of the sons are designated with different terms (ndó, nukué miyú, respectively).

Kinship Terms

[104] Abbreviations:
p = father
m = mother
hno = brother
hna = sister
ho = son
ha = daughter
co = spouse
d = of, of the

Spanish	Masculine Ego	Feminine Ego
1 — p	*tatá*	*tatá*
2 — m	*mamá*	*mamá*
3 — p-d-p	*ishi*	*ishi*
4 — m-d-p	*pénshi*	*pénshi*
5 — p-d-m	*ishi*	*ishi*
6 — m-d-m	*pénshi*	*pénshi*
7 — p-d-p-d-p	*ishi wála*	*ishi wála*

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Spanish	Masculine Ego	Feminine Ego
8 — m-d-p-d-p	*pénshi wála*	*pénshi wála*
9 — p-d-m-d-m	*ishi wála*	*ishi wála*
10 — m-d-m-d-m	*pénshi wála*	*pénshi wála*
11 — hno-d-p	*ñuk*	*ñuk*
12 — hna-d-p	*pésuts*	*pésuts*
13 — hno-d-m	*kákka*	*kákka*
14 — hna-d-m	*péñuk*	*péñuk*
15 — hno	*iaktê*	*jish*
16 — hna	*pesh*	*iaktê*
17 — ho-d-hno-d-p	*iaktê*	*jish*
18 — ho-d-hna-d-p	*iaktê*	*jish*
19 — ha-d-hno-d-p	*pesh*	*iaktê*
20 — ha-d-hna-d-p	*pesh*	*iaktê*
21 — ho-d-hno-d-m	*iaktê*	*jish*
22 — ho-d-hna-d-m	*iaktê*	*jish*
23 — ha-d-hno-d-m	*pesh*	*iaktê*
24 — ha-d-hna-d-m	*pesh*	*iaktê*
25 — ho- (1)	*kué*	*kué*
26 — ha (2)	*wásak*	*wásak*
27 — ho-d-ho-d-hno-d-p	*kué*	*kué*
28 — ha-d-ho-d-hno-d-p	*wásak*	*wásak*
29 — ho-d-ho-d-hna-d-p	*kué*	*kué*
30 — ha-d-ho-d-hna-d-p	*wásak*	*wásak*
31 — ho-d-ha-d-hno-d-p	*kué*	*kué*
32 — ha-d-ha-d-hno-d-p	*wásak*	*wásak*
33 — ho-d-ha-d-hna-d-p	*kué*	*kué*
34 — ha-d-ha-d-hna-d-p	*wásak*	*wásak*
35 — ho-d-ho-d-hno-d-m	*kué*	*kué*
36 — ha-d-ho-d-hno-d-m	*wásak*	*wásak*
37 — ho-d-ha-d-hno-d-m	*kué*	*kué*
38 — ha-d-ha-d-hno-d-m	*wásak*	*wásak*
39 — ho-d-ho-d-hna-d-m	*kué*	*kué*
40 — ha-d-ho-d-hna-d-m	*wásak*	*wásak*
41 — ho-d-ha-d-hna-d-m	*kué*	*kué*
42 — ha-d-ha-d-hna-d-m	*wásak*	*wásak*
43 — ho-d-ho	*nson*	*nson*
44 — ha-d-ho	*nson*	*nson*
45 — ho-d-ha	*nson*	*nson*

1. Son is also designated with the term jik, but it is less used.

2. Daughter is also designated with the term nis.

	Spanish	Masculine Ego	Feminine Ego
601	46 — ha-d-ha	nson	nson
	47 — ho-d-ho-d-hna	nson	nson
	48 — ha-d-ho-d-hna	nson	nson
	49 — ho-d-ha-d-hna	nson	nson
	50 — ha-d-ha-d-hna	nson	nson
	51 — ho-d-ho-d-hno	nson	nson
	52 — ha-d-ho-d-hno	nson	nson
	53 — ho-d-ha-d-hno	nson	nson
	54 — ha-d-ha-d-hno	nson	nson
	55 — ho-d-ho-d-ho	nson	nson
	56 — ha-d-ho-d-ho	nson	nson
	57 — ho-d-ha-d-ho	nson	nson
	58 — ha-d-ha-d-ho	nson	nson
	59 — ho-d-ho-d-ha	nson	nson
	60 — ha-d-ho-d-ha	nson	nson
	61 — ho-d-ha-d-ha	nson	nson
	62 — ha-d-ha-d-ha	nson	nson
	63 — co	niyú	nenú
	64 — p-d-co	tatá	táta
	65 — m-d-co	máma	máma
	66 — co-d-ho	nukué miyú	nukué miyú
	67 — co-d-ha	ndó	ndó
	68 — hno-d-co	sum	sub
	69 — hna-d-co	sub	chindá
	70 — co-d-hno	sub	chindá
	71 — co-d-hna	sum	sub
	72 — co-d-hno-d-co	sub	iaktí
	73 — co-d-hna-d-co	iaktí	sub
	74 — co-d-hno-d-p	pésuts	pésuts
	75 — co-d-hna-d-p	ñuk	ñuk
	76 — co-d-hno-d-m	péñuk	péñuk
	77 — co-d-hna-d-m	hikka	hikka
	78 — co-d-ho-d-hno-d-p	sub	chindá
	79 — co-d-ha-d-hno-d-p	sum	sub
	80 — co-d-ho-d-hna-d-p	sub	chindá
	81 — co-d-ha-d-hna-d-p	sum	sub
	82 — co-d-ho-d-hno-d-m	sub	chindá
	83 — co-d-ha-d-hno-d-m	sum	sub
	84 — co-d-ho-d-hna-d-m	sub	chindá
	85 — co-d-ha-d-hna-d-m	sum	sub

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Application of Kinship Terms

A--Masculine Ego (see Fig. 1)

1 — *Táta* . . . . . p; p-d-co
2 — *Mámа* . . . . m; m-d-co
3 — *Ishi* . . . . . p-d-p; p-d-m; hno-d-p-d-p; hno-d-p-d-m; hno-d-m-d-m; hno-d-m-d-p.
4 — *Pénshi* . . . . m-d-p; m-d-m; hna-d-p-d-p; hna-d-m-d-m; hna-d-m-d-p; hna-d-p-d-m.
5 — *Ishi wála* . . . p-d-p-d-p; p-d-m-d-m; p-d-m-d-p; p-d-p-d-m.
6 — *Pénshi wála* . m-d-p-d-p; m-d-m-d-p; m-d-p-d-m; m-d-m-d-m.
7 — *Nuk* . . . . . hno-d-p; ho-d-hno-d-p-d-p; ho-d-hna-d-p-d-p; co-d-hna-d-p.
8 — *Kákka* . . . hno-d-m; ho-d-hno-d-m-d-m; ho-d-hna-d-m-d-m; co-d-hna-d-m.
9 — *Pésuts* . . . . hna-d-p; ha-d-hno-d-p-d-p; ha-d-hna-d-p-d-p; co-d-hno-d-p.
10 — *Péñuk* . . . . hna-d-m; ha-d-hno-d-m-d-m; ha-d-hna-d-m-d-m; co-d-hno-d-m.
11 — *Kuí* (o *jik*) . ho; ho-d-hno; ho-d-hna; ho-d-ho-d-hno-d-p; ho-d-ho-d-hna-d-p; ho-d-ha-d-hno-d-p; ho-d-ha-d-hna-d-p; ho-d-ho-d-hno-d-m; ho-d-ho-d-hna-d-m; ho-d-ha-d-hno-d-m; ho-d-ha-d-hna-d-m.
12 — *Wásuk* (o *nis*)/ha; ha-d-hno; ha-d-hna; ha-d-ho-d-hno-d-p; ha-d-ho-d-hno-d-p; ha-d-ha-d-hno-d-p; ha-d-ha-d hna-d-p; ha-d-ho-d-hno-d-m; ha-d-ho-d-hna-d-m; ha-d-ha-d-hno-d-m; ha-d-ha-d-hna-d-m;
13 — *Niyú* . . . . . co
14 — *Ndó* . . . . . co-d-ha
15 — *Nukué Miyú* . co-d-ho
16 — *Nson* . . . . .ho-d-ho; ha-d-ho; ho-d-ha; ha-d-ha; ho-d-ho-d-hna; ha-d-ho-d-hna; ha-d-ha-d-hna; ho-d-ha-d-hna; ho-d-ho-d-hno; ha-d-ho-d-hno; ho-d-ha-d-hno; ha-d-ha-d-hno.
17 — *Jakú* . . . . hno; ho-d-hno-d-p; ho-d-hna-d-p; ho-d-hno-d-m; ho-d-hna-d-m; co-d-hna-d-co.
18 — *Pesh* . . . . . hna; ha-d-hno-d-p; ha-d-hna-d-p; ha-d-hno-d-m; ha-d-hna-d-m.

601 19 — *Sum* . . . . . hno-d-co; co-do-hna; co-d-ha-d-hno-d-p; co-d-ha-d-hna-d-p; co-d-ha-d-hno-d-m; co-d-ha-d-hna-d-m.

20 — *Sub* . . . . . hna-d-co; co-d-hno-d-co; co-d-hno; co-d-ho-d-hno-d-p; co-d-ho-d-hna-d-p; co-d-ho-d-hno-d-m; co-d-ho-d-hna-d-m.

B--Feminine Ego (see Fig. 2)

1 — *Nemi* . . . . . co.

2 — *Iakti* . . . . . hna; ha-d-hno-d-p; ha-d-hna-d-p; ha-d-hno-d-m; ha-d-hna-d-m; co-d-hno-d-co.

3 — *Jish* . . . . . hno; ho-d-hno-d-p; ho-d-hna-d-p; ho-d-hno-d-m; ho-d-hna-d-m.

4 — *Sub* . . . . . hno-d-co; co-d-hna-d-co; co-d-hna; co-d-ha-d-hno-d-p; co-d-ha-d-hna-d-p; co-d-ha-d-hno-d-m; co-d-ha-d-hna-d-m.

5 — *Chinás* . . . . hna-d-co; co-d-hno; co-d-ho-d-hno-d-p; co-d-ho-d-hna-d-p; co-d-ho-d-hno-d-m; co-d-ho-d-hna-d-m.

The remaining kinship terms are common for masculine and feminine EGO.

Additional Observations

193 601 A father, in referring to his children of both sexes, places the possessive my (anji) in front of the kinship term, thus:

Anji kué (my son); anji jikuesh (my sons).
Anji wásak (my daughter); anji wasakuesh (my daughters).
Anji nson (my grandson); anji nsonmuesch (my grandsons).

A mother, in referring to her children of both sexes, places the possessive my (uk) in front of the kinship term, thus:

Uk kué (my son); uk kuémuesh (my sons).
Uk wásak (my daughter); uk wásakuesh (my daughters).
Uk nson (my grandson); uk nsonmuesch (my grandsons).

/175 cont./

193 601 In like manner, the children, in referring to their parents, place in front the possessive anji or uk, according to whether the speakers are male or female, respectively.

Anjí téwesh (my parents, male speaker).
Uk tewesh (my parents, female speaker).
Anji ishiwesh (my grandparents).
Uk ishiwesh (my grandparents).

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557 Non-relatives designate the grandparents: nesh wála.

576 609 When a speaker is younger than the person referred to, and that person is a father, the correct way to speak of him is "the father of so-and-so," for example: if our informant Victoriano Piñakué (18 years old) wants to refer to Cerveleón Guagás (55 years old), he does not simply mention him by name, because this is a "grosería" /rudeness/, but he says "the father of Alfonso" (who is his eldest son), Pons nei, or Marcelo nei if he refers to the father of Marcelo. If the first-born is dead, he would say unás nei, father of the deceased. If the speaker is older than the person referred to, he may simply call him by name, but only when there is familiarity between the two; otherwise he must use the form previously mentioned. Thus, for example, Vicente Puche, who is older then Julián Piñakué (father of our informant), and since he is familiar with him, simply calls him Kilián; if he were not, he would say Vit nei (father of Victoriano). The identical form is followed for a woman older than the speaker, for example: Pons níhi (mother of Alfonso); Vit níhi (mother of Victoriano); Unás níhi (mother of the deceased).

If our informant Piñakué wishes to express this thought, "Cerveleón, I want something," he must say, "Father of Alfonso, I want something" (Pons nei tech yugüe guau wet). He may call him simply Cerveleón, but far away from him and when he is among people who are not relatives, but, he adds, this is not respectful. If Cerveleón heard this said, he would be annoyed.

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551 In referring to a grandfather, for example, Alfonso's,
609 one would say, Pons nei, if the speaker is well known to Alfonso; otherwise he would say Liõn nei (father of Cerveleõn), especially if he were in the presence of the grandfather.

In referring to the paternal uncle of Alfonso, one would say: Pons niñuk.

In referring to the maternal uncle of Alfonso, one would say: Pons nekáhka.

In referring to the paternal aunt of Alfonso, one would say: Pons nsuts.

In referring to the maternal aunt of Alfonso, one would say: Pons nihiñuk.

Relations between Relatives

603 As we have seen, general respect is owed to older persons
[188] by younger persons. Patterns of conduct between grandparents and grandchildren are governed by emotional factors, these being more or less affectionate, according to their mutual comportment. If the grandparents /177/ are kind to their grandchildren, they are given their love and consideration; if the contrary is the case, the attitude is one of cold respect. If the grandchildren say "what an old pig he is," the grandfather will not love them.

604 It is affirmed that with the paternal and maternal uncles
551 an identical pattern of conduct is observed. They cannot be designated solely by name. Thus, if Victoriano Piñakuẽ addresses his uncle by his name, the latter will reply that he has no manners, for he should show respect. "You must say uncle," he advises. His mother will scold him: "you are rude to speak like
604 that, say uncle." Greater respect is owed to Ego's older uncles than to uncles younger than he is. To the former he gives a blessing as he does to his parents. One should not mention "cosas feas" /ugly things/ in their presence or joke with them. If the uncle wishes to joke with the nephew, the latter should

/177 cont./

604 laugh, but nothing more. The uncle's wife is to be called aunt and she receives the nephew's blessing because she is older. He may not joke with her. Should she become a widow (echui), the nephew may not marry her because he must respect her. We have not been able to find any information that might make one suspect avuncular or amitate relations.

605 Cousins of the first degree, paternal and maternal, respect each other and avoid aggressive attitudes among themselves. Between male cousins presents of harvest produce may be made, which is not done with the female cousins, for they live with their respective husbands.

602 The parents of married couples call each other compadre (compale). There is no difference of comportment between them; the greeting is given by the first one to see his compadre.

606 Sexual relations between father-in-law and daughter-in-law are [835] prohibited, just as between son-in-law and mother-in-law. There are cases in which the parents-in-law do not care for their son-in-law, and also in which the parents-in-law do not care for their daughter-in-law.

607 Following the general standards of conduct, EGO shows more respect toward his older brothers-in-law than toward the younger ones. A man may not cohabit with the wife of his brother, which is characterized as "mucha grosería" /great rudeness/. The husband may cohabit with the sister of his wife, [587] but it is characterized as "muy feo" /very ugly/. The marriage of a man to the widow of his brother or that of a woman to the widower of her sister is also regarded as wrong. Relations between brothers-in-law are cordial; "they respect each other as though they belonged to the same family."

The brothers and sisters of the husband treat the brothers and sisters of the wife as compadres. They may marry each other.

[602] /178/ The sons of the brothers and sisters of the father are nothing to the sons of the brothers and sisters of the mother. They do not speak to each other.

/178 cont./

The Family

594
361 The social group par excellence in Páez culture is the
nuclear family. Its importance stands out if we consider that
175 the Páez live dispersed within their geographic area. Both the
594 chroniclers and the parish priests who concerned themselves
361 with them emphasize this characteristic. In 1751 the priest of Tálaga, Licenciado Eugenio del Castillo y Orozco, wrote in his report to Don Juan Francisco de Eguizaval, Governor and Captain General of the city of Popayán and its provinces, "that by command of his Illustrious Lordship Don Francisco José de Figueredo y Victoria on the Council of His Majesty, currently Bishop of this Diocese, I reported to the Governor previous to your Lordship, stating that since the year 1719, when I was in these Provinces assisting as interpreter for the Very Excellent Don Pedro Felipe García, then inspector for them, and afterwards in 1731 the same for Dr. D. Francisco Gómez Constantino, I learned that the Indians of this province had been inclined to live dispersed at various distances and only sat together at drinking parties in the homes of their Caciques or Capataces when they came from some Riria (which they call Necue) or to celebrate the first menstruation of a woman (which they call Izacó) or for another cause for vain observance, and, after finishing, they again separate" (3). Multiple efforts were made by the

177
797
361 3. Archivo Nacional de Bogotá. "Cartas de contrabando /Contraband Letters/," Vol. 14, Fol. 228.

parish priests and by the governors of the colonial period to "reducirlos a vida sociable" /reduce them to a social life/, but the "bárbara naturaleza" /barbarous nature/ of these natives made their efforts fruitless. And this cultural trait is still

/178 cont./

177 effectively maintained (4). In each house, scattered over the
797
361

4. Bernal Villa, S. "La fiesta de San Juan en Calderas Tierradentro /The fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," 1953, p. 182.

In each house, scattered over the
594 ruggedness of the prominences, live a pair of adults of the op-
[361] posite sex and their children. It is this nuclear family that cares for and maintains its old parents and attends to their burial when they die, that completes the religious festivals with traditional pomp and rigor (5), that defends its /179/ interests from the

5. Ibid., pp. 192 ff.

attacks of strangers, that in former times celebrated the "Riria" (which they call Necue) (6) or the first menstruation of a woman

6. In the Vocabulario Páez-Castellano /Spanish-Páez Vocabulary/ of del Castillo y Orozco there is the word Nécue, which has the following textual definition: desaffo; pelea que es un desaffo solemne tan antiguo como el jentilismo entre los páeces, de dos campeones cada uno con el común de su bando /competition, a fight that is a solemn competition as old as paganism among the Paez, of two champions, each one with the community of his faction/.

(which they call Izacó), and, finally, that manufactures its troughs for chicha ("another cause for vain observance," of which del Castillo y Orozco speaks) in order to carry out the "bebezones"
594 /drinking parties/ with all who seek to participate. It is this
574 nuclear family that "cuida" /takes care of/ relatives who arrive,
609 that offers hospitality to the native traveler and that shows cold silence toward the visitor from Western culture.

/179 cont./

594 Associated with the nuclear family primordially are the functions of reproduction, the rearing of children, and the education of the latter. On procreation depends also the importance of economic functions.

581 The orientation of the sexual instinct is a secondary end.
589 Indeed, Páez culture demands that every individual form a
[183] family, once he has acquired the capacity for procreation. In
[842] the parcialidad of Calderas they look upon children as a blessing
[775] from God, regarding celibates "como violadores de la cruz" /as violators of the cross/(marriage); celibacy is condemned, in the rationalization that the person who dies celibate goes to the
[754] Nevado del Huila, considered by them as hell. The celibacy of a woman is exceptional, and when it occurs they believe that she becomes a witch. They think something similar about some
581 widows. One woman of some fifty years of age says that
589 "marriage is fundamental and obligatory, for the grandfathers
775 used to say that to a woman who is not married the devil gives a black dog for a husband in hell" (7). Another woman declared

[825] 7. They regarded white dogs as companions and guides in the future life and fear that "if molested they will come out and bite them at the entrance to the future abode."

that at times she feels sorrow for the death of an unmarried daughter, "because the devil would give her a husband."

581 The culture considers it an obligation of parents to marry
183 off their daughters even if they are very young. Furthermore
[582] the young men aspire to "build their house, marry, produce children, have animals, coca in abundance, and sugar cane
[842] for their chicha" (8). The incentive to marry is to have children,

8. Bernal Villa, S. 1953, op. cit., p. 183.

for which purpose it is necessary to have assurance /180/ that the woman is fecund.

842 /180 cont./
583 the woman is fecund. For this the culture offers the institutional
581 device of "amaño," by which the man lives with the woman for a
183 time before legalizing the marriage. And we are given clear
175 and precise information about this by Licenciado Eugenio del
595 Castillo y Orozco and his brother, Licentiado Isidro del Castillo
583 y Hrozco /sic/, in their respective reports which they gave to the Governor and Captain General mentioned above: "that they followed the evil custom of living in intimate relations for a long time with the woman whom they were to marry, and if after the marriage they had no offspring they would leave her and seek another woman who might be fecund and whom they thought they might marry if they were not married to their own wives (as Manuel Bolza, an Indian of this village (9), wished

9. Tálaga.

to do), and as was done by Antonio Cofongo (an Indian of San Antonio de las Chinas), from whom he learned not to break up the legitimate religious marriage, which could be prohibited, and who suggested that they get out of the difficulty by any false means, even to arranging for others, from the lowest Indian to the highest, to testify to a lying statement, and if anyone dissented from it and would not follow the wish of the Cacique or Moján, fear caused the dissenters to escape to other parts; some fled with their concubines when they were not acceptable to her parents or relatives, others to avoid work, and others from necessity" (10) ..."and that they flee from all their vices and

10. Archivo Nacional de Bogotá, op. cit., Folio 228.

sins, which are: witchcraft, drunkenness, and concubinage" (11).

11. Archivo Nacional de Bogotá, op. cit., Folio 230.

/180 cont./

583 [175] In Paris on the first of March, 1877, Esequiel Uricoechea wrote in his introduction to the Vocabulario: "Marriage in the sense in which we accept it today did not exist among the Páeces: two people lived a married life for some time and the marriage was not legalized without the previous certainty that [192] the woman was fecund. It is natural then, that we find among the Páeces, as among the Peruvians, two verbs (imi and iyó) which indicate respectively the woman accepts the man and the man takes the woman. The woman was obliged to give clothing to the husband, and he "to provide sustenance for the family" (12).

12. Castillo y Orozdo, E. del. Vocabulario Páez-Castellano /Paez-Spanish Vocabulary/, 1877, p. XIV.

Our informants from Calderas confirm the effectiveness of this custom, some justifying it by the need of the future husband /181/ to obtain the money to pay the expenses of the wedding, others in order to "catear" /sample, find out/ if the woman is honest, a worker, and faithful, and there was no lack of those who clearly stated that this trial marriage "is customary because if the woman should turn out to be machorra /barren/ there is no marriage." When such occurs the man returns the woman to her parents without any problem standing in the way, which would not be the case if they were married by the Church, in which case the return is not possible.

162 583 595 184 Our investigations concerning the frequency of the "amaño" in the established families of some parcialidades of Tierradentro showed the following results:

Calderas: 42 families (28% of the approximate total of Calderun families). 57.1% of these families practiced the amaño: 42.9% were married first by the Church.

San Andrés: 13 families (6.5% of the approximate total of San Andrés families). 92.3% were married first by the Church; 7.7% practiced the amaño.

/181 cont./

162 583 595 Lame: 8 families (6.2% of the approximate total of Lame families). 87.5% were married first by the Church; 12.5% practiced the amaño.

184 Mosoco: 26 families (10.4% of the approximate total of families in Mosoco). 88.1% followed the Catholic law; 11.6% practiced the amaño.

Although the percentages for the parcialidades of San Andrés and Lame may not reflect fully the real situation concerning the custom owing to the paucity of data, one can clearly see the vigor that it still has in Calderas, a parcialidad less acculturated, 581 of course, than the others. Once the man is convinced of the 594 fertility of his mate, the marriage is legalized at the altar of the [585] Catholic Church. Then the economic co-operation of the spouses, initiated at the beginning of their married life, is stabilized and gains strength, and the marriage becomes, as one of our informants remarked, an association for the "mutual benefit of the contracting parties, to serve each other, without in any way 594 being a burden to either of them." The man enlarges his clear- 462 ings in order to take care of "the sustenance of the family," plants sugar cane and coca in order to obtain chicha and narcotic for holding mingas /work parties/, in order to celebrate religious festivals, in order to "cuidar" his relatives and to relax with his friends; he hires himself out as a peon /182/ in order to acquire money and to buy shawls for his wife, wool and cloth that the woman makes into camisas for herself, her husband, and her sons, and trousers for these last, begins to build his house, if he does not have one, on the lot that his father has assigned to him, to make a home for his family. The woman, on her part, administers the products that her husband brings to her, weaves the ruana /poncho/ and kuetand-yaha (mambe pouch /a bag for the ingredients of chews/) for the husband and children, prepares the food, raises hens and pigs, and cares for her children less than three years old (13). In this manner, among the Páez, marriage,

13. For the division of activities according to sex, see our work "Economía de los Páez /Economy of the Paez/," /published in the

8: Bernal Villa--24 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

/182 cont./

462 13. (cont.)
594 Revista Colombiana de Antropología, Vol. III, 1954.

361 In this manner, among the Paez, marriage,
182 family, land, and house form an intimate unit, indissoluble and
594 in part explaining the above-mentioned phenomenon of the re-
581 luctance to live grouped in towns or cities.
423 Basically the residence of the nuclear family is patrilocal-
591 neolocal. When the man, accompanied by his escort, goes to
[584] ask for his future consort, and, after certain definite formalities are fulfilled, the future parents-in-law hand her over, she is taken to live in the house of his parents (when he has not built
591 his own). In it he arranges a separate room with a kitchen for
596 cooking, a cowhide to sleep on, and space in which to keep their provisions, their kitchen utensils, and work tools. The new
[593] spouses are independent of their respective parents. The man assists in the work of his parents-in-law and the woman in the work of hers, but in neither case does it constitute an obligation
[594] for them. When a bachelor, the man works to take care of his own needs and to assist in the support of the paternal economy; once married he works to support his family.

582 The man chooses his wife within the parcialidad, although
177 he may marry women from other parcialidades. But neither men nor women may marry persons from Western culture ("whites"). In Calderas there was a case of a possible marriage between a native woman and a "white." The cabildo removed this possibility, obliging the native woman to marry a member of the parcialidad. If it is a man who wishes to try to marry a "white" woman, he must leave the village. They consider that when the "whites" enter the community, they invariably appropriate their land.

582 The selection of spouses within the parcialidades is /183/ determined by the laws of incest. Unions between parents and children and real brothers and sisters are incestuous and severely prohibited. Also relations between cousins of the first degree of both lines and those of uncles and nieces are condemned, although not

proscribed.

/183 cont./

605 proscribed. With respect to relations between cousins, they
835 state that whoever has them cannot pass the Páramo /crests of the cordilleras/ (Guanacas, Delicias, Moras), because the tiger will eat them. They add, however, that nothing will happen to them if such unions take place without any prelude, laughter, or merriment.

582 In deciding upon the spouses there exists a very singular
551 cultural trait. A man never chooses his future wife from among women bearing his own surname. Thus, a Muse does not choose a Muse for his wife, although she may live in another parcialidad. They believe that there may be kinship relations
551 between them. Cases in which a husband and wife do have the
582 same surname are very rare, and when that happens the husband
851 endeavors to introduce his wife by her mother's name. A case that we were able to observe unexpectedly was during the baptism of a baby girl solemnized in the church at Inzá. For elementary reasons we are concealing the names of the actual parents, and we shall suppose that the father is called Manuel Kiguasú and the mother María Kiguasú. In order to register the baptism of the child, the priest asked for the name of the parents. "Manuel Kiguasú," answered the father of the child, but upon being asked the name of his wife, he did not say that she was called María Kiguasú, as in reality she was, being the legitimate daughter of a Kiguasú, but María Vitechi, a name inherited from her mother. The case acquires more importance if one takes into account the fact that the so-called Manuel Kiguasú is a mestizo
551 who lives among the "whites" and deals with them. We found
582 the same situation in the genealogical record of the family of Nicanor Guagás of the parcialidad of Calderas. Rosario Ido, widow of Nicanor Guagás, bears the name of her mother, a native of the parcialidad of Cuetando, and not that of her father, Agustín Guagás, she being a legitimate daughter. Although in the same records Nicolasa Guagás does not conceal her surname in mentioning that of her deceased husband, Manuel José Guagás, a marriage authorized by the Church, for Nicolasa states that she is her husband's niece. The name of the nuclear family, that is to

/183 cont./

557 say, the surname, is transmitted through the paternal line. The
582 wife retains it throughout her life, but does not transmit it to her children. A son of hers will bear only the father's surname.
604 According to an /184/ informant from Calderas a man respects his paternal uncles and aunts in the same manner as the maternal uncles, but not the maternal aunt, because "she is not a real relative;...she is a woman and not a man ... the men (older) have to be respected the same as the old women" and, generalizing, adds: "of the uncles and aunts one respects the men more than the women and the paternal uncles more than
601 the maternal ones." Although the terms for designating the
604 uncles and aunts of EGO differentiate sex and specify the line to which they belong, EGO considers the relationship of the paternal uncles and aunts to be closer than that of the maternal ones, and although the uncles call the sons of their brothers "sons," there does not exist among the present-day Páez a clear concept of parallel uncles and cross uncles and, consequently, of parallel and cross cousins. Masculine EGO calls paternal and maternal male cousins Iakté, paternal and maternal female cousins pesh, making them equal with his own sisters and brothers, and feminine EGO calls paternal and maternal female cousins Iakté, paternal and maternal male cousins Jish, making
601 them equal also with her own brothers and sisters. But logically
604 such a distinction must have existed, to judge from the conduct
582 observed in the selection of mates and in the respect that EGO pays to his uncles and aunts, this being more pronounced for the paternal than for the maternal ones and greater still for the men.
114 Eugenio del Castillo y Orozco corroborates our argument. In
60 his Vocabulario he states that the mother-in-law is called by the
582 same term as the one designating the father's sister (pezoz), and the father-in-law by the same term as the one for designating the mother's brother (cacca). This means that in the eighteenth century in-law kinship specified the origin of the spouses, clearly showing marriage between cross cousins.

60 All these traits make us think that possibly there were
614 patrilineal exogamous clans, now manifested by some types of
174 stereotyped conduct,

/184 cont./

stereotyped conduct. It should nevertheless be stated that the present-day Páez surnames were still given names in the eighteenth century, chosen capriciously by the mother and not transmissible to the descendants (14). The adoption of surnames and

14. Castillo y Orozco, E. de., op. cit., p. 75.

their heritability through the paternal line is the result of the doctrinal work of the Catholic missionaries, and their assimilation and integration into Páez culture must have been carried out in accordance with certain aspects of a sociological nature existing previously. The same /an unpaginated genealogical chart appears here/ /185/ present-day monogamy of the Páez appears to be the result of a strong Catholic Christian influence, since in pre-Colombian times they were polygamous (15).

15. Hernández de Alba, Gr. "The Highland Tribes of Southern Colombia," 1946, p. 948.

The supreme authority in the nuclear family rests with the father; when he is missing, with the mother; and, when both are missing, with the most intelligent of the group. The husband orders, the woman only asks. The woman is always under the control of the man: the father, the brother, the husband. She has no liberty of movement. The cabildo has authority over orphaned women, including that of having them marry. One of our informants in Calderas was a fatherless orphan and had been brought up in Avirama in the company of her stepfather. Being of age, an Aviramẽño asked for her in marriage, but the cabildo of Calderas stopped the marriage, brought her back to the parcialidad, made her spend the night in the quarters of the cabildo, and on the following day made her marry a lad of 14 whom she did not know. Since she resisted, they beat her, admonishing her at the same time that if she did not do it, she would be married to a black dog in the future life. "There being

[text continues on p. 33]

8: Bernal Villa

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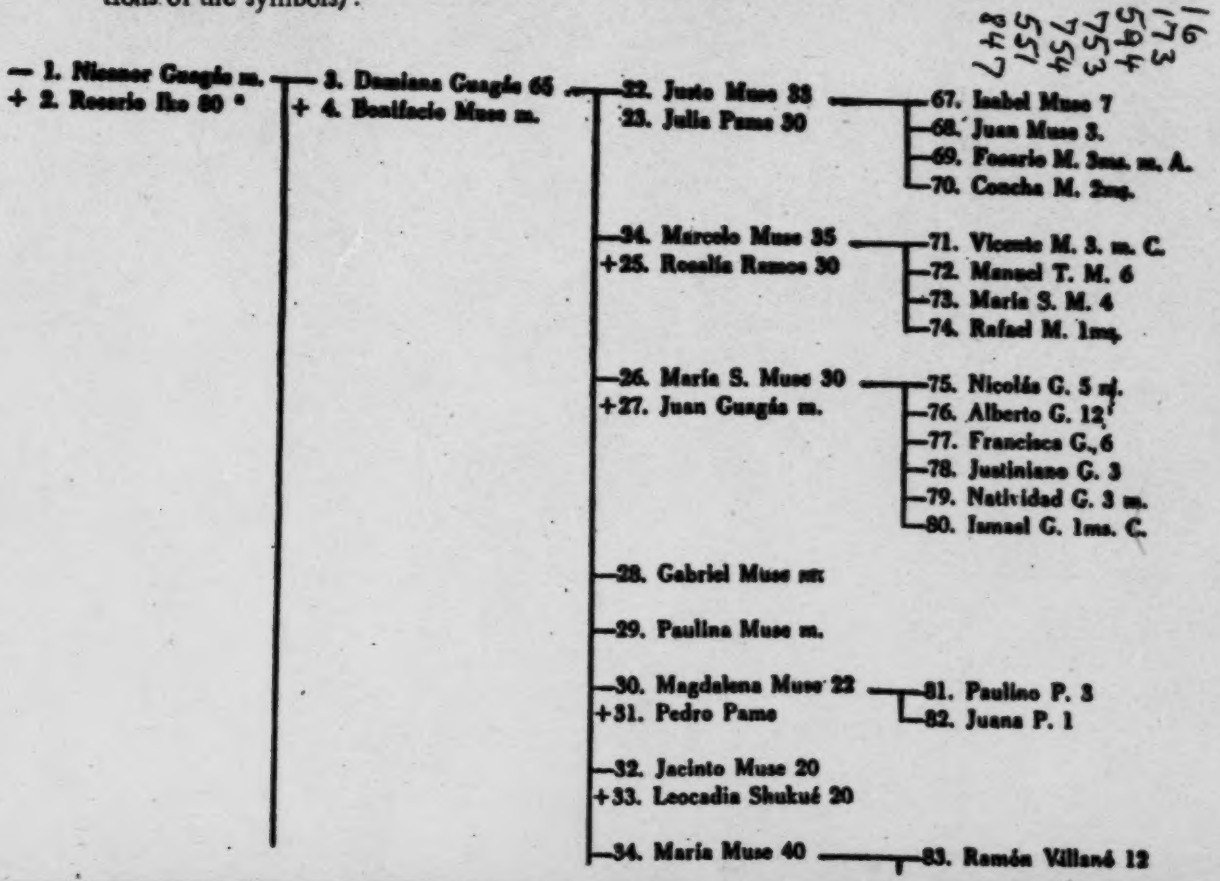
Chart of Positions of the Nicanor Guagás family's Genealogy.
/Following p. 27/

Genealogy of the family of Nicanor Guagás, parcialidad of Calderas. It includes several nuclear families which live in different places in the parcialidad /see p. 32 for the explanations of the symbols/.


1. Nicanor Guagás m.
+ 2. Rosario Iko 80 *
3. Damiana Guagás 65
+ 4. Bonifacio Muse m.
22. Justo Muse 38
23. Julia Pame 30
67. Isabel Muse 7
68. Juan Muse 3.
69. Rosario M. 3mo. m. A.
70. Concha M. 2mo.
24. Marcelo Muse 35
+25. Rosalía Ramos 30
71. Vicente M. 3. m. C.
72. Manuel T. M. 6
73. María S. M. 4
74. Rafael M. 1mo.
26. María S. Muse 30
+27. Juan Guagás m.
75. Nicolás G. 5 m.
76. Alberto G. 12
77. Francisca G. 6
78. Justiniano G. 3
79. Natividad G. 3 m.
80. Ismael G. 1mo. C.
28. Gabriel Muse m
29. Paulina Muse m.
30. Magdalena Muse 22
+31. Pedro Pame
81. Paulino P. 3
82. Juana P. 1
32. Jacinto Muse 20
+33. Leocadia Shukué 20
34. María Muse 40
83. Ramón Villaná 12

8: Bernal Villa--28 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

8: Bernal Villa--29 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

16 173 594 753 754 755 478

- 34. María Muse 40
  - 83. Ramón Villanó 12
  - 84. Juana Villanó 8
  - 85. María S. V. 7
  - 86. Marcelino V. 3
  - 87. Alfonso V. 3 m. H
- +35. José Villanó 40
- 36. Delfina Muse 23 E
  - 88. Jacinto Guagás 6
  - 89. Isabel G. 8ms.
- +37. Venancio Guagás 25
- 5. Nicolasa Guagás 38
  - 38. Marcelina Guagás 22
    - 90. Magdalena Tova 2
  - +39. Alfonso Tova 30
  - 40. Gregoria Guagás
  - 41. Agustina Guagás
  - 42. Virginia Guagás
  - 43. Manuel J. Guagás 10
- + 6. Manuel Guagás m.
- 7. Raimundo Guagás 35
  - 44. ——— 2
- + 8. María J. Pame 27
- 9. Pascual Guagás m.
- 10. José D. Guagás m.
- 11. Juan Guagás m.
- 12. Juana Guagás
  - 45. Benito Io 36
    - 91. Miguel Io 3ms. m. J
    - 92. Patrocinio Io 2
  - +46. Antonia Ikinás 22
- +14. Primitivo Io

8: Bernal Villa--30 E-5 (1953-1954) 1956 SC15 Paez SC15

[Parcialidad of Caldera]

16 173 544 753 754 757 947

10. José D. Guagás m.

11. Juan Guagás m.

12. Juana Guagás
+14. Primitivo Io

45. Benito Io 36
+46. Antonia Ikinás 22

91. Miguel Io 3ms. m. J
92. Patrocinio Io 2

47. Esteban Io 38
+48. Rosalía Puche 30 E

93. Santiago I. m. F.
94. Tránsito I. 10
95. Santos I. 6
96. Raimundo I. 1
97. Cruz Io m. C

49. Margarita Io 25
+50. Julio Ikinás 35

98. Eusebio Ikinás 4
99. Lorenzo Ikinás 2ms.
101. Santos I. 1ms. m. D

14. Catalina Guagás 50
+15. Demesio Ule m.

51. Dionisia Ule 22
+52. Celio Muse 27

102 2

16. Trinidad Guagás
+17. Manuel Ule

53. Bautista Ule
54. Felisa Ule
55. Cristina Ulè
56. Pedro Ule

18. José D. Guagás

57. Juana Guagás 30

103. Josefina T. 1ms.

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8: Bemal Villa--31 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955
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[Parcialidad of Calderon]

- 55. Cristina Ulè
- 56. Pedro Ule
- 18. José D. Guagás
- +19. Jacinta Muse
  - 57. Juana Guagás 30
    - 103. Josefina T. 1ms.
    - +58. Narciso Tumbo 40
      - 104. Alejandro T. 5 m. B
      - 105. Rufina T. 1ms. m. C
      - 106. Flora T. 4 m. D
      - 107. Cruz T. 1ms. m. A
  - 59. Aurelio Guagás 35
    - 108. Pedro Guagás 2
    - +60. Vicenta Kuskue 30.
  - 61. Marcelino Guagás 50.
    - 109. Feliciano G. 1ms. m.
    - +62. Trinidad Puche 50
      - 110. Bruno G. 25
      - 111. Magdalena G. 20
      - 112. Ramón G. 10
      - 113. Agustin G. 1ms. m.
      - 114. Felisa G. 1ms. m.
  - 63. Quiterio Guagás
  - +64. Petrona Pame
  - 65. Martina Guagás 27
    - 115. Julio Ikinás 10
    - +66. Rufino Ikinás 30
      - 116. Gregoria I. 8
      - 117. Pascual I. 4 m.
- 20. A woman m.
- 21. A woman m.

8: Bernal Villa--32 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

Explanations for the symbols of the chart on pp. 28-31./

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*The parents of Rosario Iko were called Agustín Guagás and Concepción Iko, the latter a native of Cuetando. Rosario bears the surname of the mother because of being married to a Guagás.

A. Stung by Echi

B. Poisoned

C. Bewitched.

D. Whooping cough.

E. An abortion.

F. Smallpox.

G. Hernia.

H. Duende.

J. Plague.

m. dead.

ms. months.

/185 cont./

623 no other solution, I had to marry, "reflected the informant," for
736 such was the law. The cabildo finds husbands for female orphans
562 (guaiches). Any youth could ask the cabildo for an orphan for a
583 wife and it would give her."

The husband may punish his wife. We were able to ob-
593 serve the case of a native Calderuno who with tears in his eyes
[586] asked for the help of the priest to get back his wife who had abandoned him because he had given her some blows with the flat of a machete, injuring her. The complaining husband explained that the maltreatment given to his wife had not been of any importance, and, anyway, she had cost him twelve pesos, meaning by this the amount paid to the priest to celebrate the
593 nuptials. They punish the wife when on returning from work
684 they find her drunk and without food prepared for eating. Likewise they whip her or cuff her in cases of infidelity. Absolute
[837] fidelity is demanded from both spouses, and transgressions from this standard seem to be infrequent.

Such cases as present themselves are settled by the cabildo,
593 as we were able to observe in Mosoco, where a husband, through
623 the suggestion of his own mother, accused his wife of infidelity.
684 The cabildo /186/ in session went to the house of the plaintiff
692 to establish responsibility in the presence of the interested parties. According to an informant from Calderas, when a married man has a child by an unmarried girl, his wife complains before the cabildo. If it finds the girl guilty, it punishes her with lashes and authorizes the complainant to cut the hair of her rival.
[848] The child born in this way, said the informant, dies of the plague.
[753] Cases of infidelity on the part of the husband a number of times arouse violent reactions on the part of the wife, up to the point of liquidating her rival in a barbarous and merciless manner, as occurred in San Andrés where out of jealousy a woman practically quartered the body of the other woman, and whose penal judgment was given in the city of Popayán not many months ago.

/186 cont./

237 Should an unfaithful wife conceive a child by a man
851 racially white and the husband not be aware of it, the latter considers it his child even if it should inherit the characteristics of its progenitor. He will simply observe, "Why do my children come like this?" His wife answers him, "I don't know; it may
581 be echi or Pijao." In general marriages are well established and
593 stable, in spite of the fact that occasional tensions may arise be-
586 tween spouses. Divorce is unknown among the Páez. Extinction of marriages by separation or the abandonment of one of the spouses is rare. In Calderas they can count on the fingers of one hand the cases where a man has abandoned his wife. "This is very ugly in a person, it should never happen," comments a woman. Cases in which a woman abandons the husband are much rarer still, being bitterly criticized when they occur.

594 The mother has the obligation to feed and care for her
854 children up to when they can leave home. Labor which she
[853] truly performs with love and care. The children suckle until they are two years old and even up to three, a period during which she never leaves them at any time. She cradles them on her breast or in the hammock and carries them on her shoulders,
594 attending to them lovingly whenever they cry. The father looks
867 after his boys from the time that they gain complete mastery of
[593] the biped state, without this making him less loving toward his daughters. Then he begins to take his sons everywhere.

During religious festivals they sit at his side, participate in the conversation of their elders, and are served food and
[273] drink in the same way as their elders. In Calderas and in /187/ San Andrés we had the opportunity to observe children five years old reeling under the effects of chicha and aguardiente. At this age, when they begin to take part in the economic life of the family group, the father teaches them to chew coca. The father conscientiously performs this labor of endoculturation.

597 We have not come across any cases of adopted children.
736 When both parents die, the children stay in the home of the nearest relative.

593 The conduct of the children toward their parents is that of deep respect. Nevertheless, in Calderas we witnessed the verbal

8: Bernal Villa--36 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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/187 cont./

593 and de facto (with a machete) aggression of a married son (23 years old) against his parents, and the situation calmed down when the father succeeded in disarming the aggressor.

Brothers and sisters respect each other. They avoid aggression, and when they are little they play together. The younger brothers greet the older ones, and when the latter marry, they receive, kneeling, the blessing of the former.

[241] The fruits of the harvests are shared among the brothers,
[476] just as they also mutually help one another in the arduous agricultural work. According to an informant, men care more for their brothers than for their sisters, because the latter, upon marrying, leave the home. Nevertheless they show affection in their conduct with both sexes. Relations between sisters and the mother are intimate, as they live together under the same
[855] roof and intermingle in performing the same work. The older ones help to bring up the younger brothers and sisters. The latter call the eldest brother and eldest sister táta and máma, names that they abandon when they have reached adulthood.
[627] In case of a fight involving one of the brothers, the others go to his assistance and take vengeance if anyone has been injured,
[623] but this is not an obligation. Quarrels between brothers may
[692] arise over the distribution of land. In the greater number of such cases the cabildo settles the differences.

602 Relations between the families united among themselves by blood ties are intimate. They visit one another frequently and are shown painstaking treatment.

593 Mingas[1] are organized more readily among brothers, who
[476] "cover up their poverty." In the religious festivals they mutually
[651] back one another and during occasional meetings they endeavor
[796] to drink and eat together.

1/ [i.e., meetings for collective work--Analyst]